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121 to observe. This paper is an analysis of the forms of social cooperation[3] through which the inhabitants of a Peiping suburban village have solved some of their more persistent problems. It is not, therefore, a study of the Chinese family as such; but in China where the family is one of the most, if not the most, fundamental of social units,[4] it is of value to discover its importance as one of the units of social cooperation and to see in what way or ways it has functioned. In the following pages only some of the important problems of the villagers are to be discussed. It may be added, parenthetically, that there is no intention to classify the types of human institutional activities according to human problems and needs.[5]

Hunger

261 596 By far the most important problem of the villagers is "hunger" in its broadest sense.[6] In the solution of this persistent problem, the

3 A classical treatment on the principle of cooperation in the evolution of species is P. A. Kropotkin's Mutual Aid, A factor of Evolution, London, 1902. Recently, M. A. May and L. W. Doob in Competition and Cooperation, New York, 1937, have attempted to give a systematic review of the subject but with special reference to culture and personality. Margaret Mead and others applied the same point of view to primitive conditions in Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples, New York, 1937.

4 See Kulp II, Daniel Harrison, Country Life in South China, The Sociology of Familism, New York, 1925. Sorokin, Zimmerman and Galpin thought of "the family as the basic institution and familism as the fundamental relationship of rural social organization." See their A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology Vol. II, Part III, Chapter X. Minneapolis, 1931.

5 Sumner and Keller have attempted such a classification in The Science of Society, New Haven, 1927.

6 "The term 'hunger' is here extended, beyond its special meaning, to cover sensations of lack, due to insufficient preservation or repair of bodily energies, and accompanied with other related or derived discomforts. The prime material needs of the body are food to promote its growth and repair its waste, and protection in the form of clothing and other shelter. Hunger is here taken to be the sense of physical discomfort that impels to their satisfaction; it works out into the stimulus to the pursuit of material well-being." — W. G. Sumner and L. G. Keller, The Science of Society, Vol. I, p. 22, New Haven, 1927. "The desire for food is the foremost need of man; less imperative are his needs for shelter and raiment. The individual aspires to be well dressed, well housed, well fed, and well off. These several wants may be designated for the sake of convenience by the name of the one most prominent among them, that of Hunger." — A. E. Ayau, The Social Psychology of Hunger and Sex, Cambridge, Mass., 1939, p. 17.

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family at once strikes the attention of the observer as the most fundamental cooperative unit. Beginning with a newly-born baby, we know that it has to be fed by the mother from one to three years. In the case of the mother, immediately after the delivery of the baby, she has to be taken care of by her mother-in-law, husband or elder daughters from ten to thirty days as the case may be.[7]

Naturally all family members share the same sources of material supply with males and elders getting a better share. In case there are employees, they are treated as members of the family. This unit of family and non-family members living in the same house and eating at the same table is what is to be called a family-household.[8]

The activities preparatory to the actual consumption are shared by household members. The work of cooking and related tasks fall on the daughter-in-law with proper supervision by the mother-in-law if necessary. In the case of a family with parents and unmarried children, all this work belongs to the wife sometimes with the assistance of grown-up daughters. There is no tabu on males doing cooking. Husbands may sometimes do better cooking than their wives, but they prefer to have more leisure if they can afford it.

In order to eat, to be clothed and to have shelter, one has to work. While adult males of the family do not take part in the preparation of food and the making of garments, they have to earn the means for these consumptive goods, not only for themselves, but for their old parents and other dependents.

While commercialism has not as yet deeply penetrated into the life of the people, villagers appreciate the power of money sufficiently well. About half of the family-households in the village depend on farming for their means of subsistence and material welfare; the other half have to work in the woolen factory in a town about a mile

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7 Audrey I. Richards in **Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe**, London, 1932, has initiated a very interesting and important analysis of the sociological implication of nutrition. A sociological treatment of nutrition in P'ing-chiao-tsun is now undertaken. It is not the purpose of the present paper to go into the details of the matter.

8 Household is the unit of our population census taken in the village. A household has only one economic management. A temple, a store or a school is also known as a "household". A family-household is one with a family as its core.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

262 per cent of its entire food expenses.[1] While 9.1 per cent goes to vegetables and 6.7 per cent goes to condiments, the expenses on meat, fish and other animal foods are insignificantly low, viz. only 3.2 per cent. This striking fact no doubt supports the contention that the Chinese are essentially a vegetarian people, but it should be observed that it is more than likely that their low consumption of meat is entirely due to their slender income.

(2) In lieu of meat and dainties, pickles and pungent and odoriferous edibles are plentifully consumed as appetizers.

(3) The sparing use of fruits as food, a feature which may be considered as characteristic of the diet of the Peking people of humble means.

(4) The significant fact that milk and its products are entirely absent from the Chinese menu is well-known and hardly needs dwelling upon, though it should be pointed out that even previous to the advent of modern dairies, there have been in existence in Peking stores engaged in making curdled milk and its allied products, the favourite foods of Manchus and Mongols.

FOOD EXPENSES ANALYSED

261 265 Most people of the forty-eight families had their meals prepared and cooked at home, a few bought their meals from hawkers or food dealers and still a few others took their meals with relatives. As food was obtained from different sources, so its expenses varied. As has been previously remarked, the food purchased from dealers is invariably more expensive. Our analysis of food expenses showed that every meal prepared and cooked at home cost on the average $0.05, or $0.06 including expenses for fuel and water, per equivalent adult, while that prepared and sold by dealers would cost on the average $0.103 per equivalent adult; the cost of meals offered by relatives was found to be about the same as that cooked at home.

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[1] For the percentage of food expenses, see Table 16, p. 96.

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Table 15.—Analysis of Average Food Expenses per Family

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Income group	Number of families	Average number of equivalent adults per family — Total	Taking meals at home	Buying meals from outside	Taking meals offered by relatives	Average amount of food expenses per family in six months — Total	Home-made meals	Ready-made meals	Meals offered by relatives
Under $ 70	3	2.60	2.44	.14	.02	$47.75	$41.37	$6.01	$0.37
$ 70 & under $110...	28	3.00	2.46	.46	.07	63.68	45.17	16.84	1 68
$110 & under $150...	14	4.10	3.29	.76	.04	87.02	56.87	29.29	.86
$150 & under $190...	3	4.50	3.21	1.21	.08	107.74	62.51	43.16	2.07
All incomes	48	3.39	2.75	.57	.06	72.25	49.43	21.44	1.38
	PER CENT.								
Under $ 70	6.3	100	94	5	1	100	87	13	1
$ 70 & under $110...	58.3	100	82	15	2	100	71	26	3
$110 & under $150...	29.2	100	80	19	1	100	65	34	1
$150 & under $190...	6.3	100	71	27	2	100	58	40	2
All incomes	100.0	100	81	17	2	100	68	30	2

One noteworthy feature may be observed from the foregoing table. It is the tendency that the higher the income, the more persons bought their meals from outside, and consequently more money was paid for meals prepared by vendors.

This upward tendency of the expenditure on the purchase of ready-made food in higher income groups is extremely interesting. Not only does it demonstrate the higher cost of food purchased from dealers, it further explains, in part at least, the abnormally high percentage of food among various items of expenditure. It will be found in Table 15 that the average expense for ready-made meals paid by each family amounted to 30 per cent of the average total food expenditure, while the same expense paid by the family in the highest income group rose to as much as 40 per cent. There is no doubt that the purchase of ready-made meals must have been an important factor in raising the food expense of the working families. Now, in order to reduce the food expense of the working family, the most obvious

261 thing to do would be to prepare and take all the meals at home.
265 On examining into those who purchased their meals from dealers, however, it appears that this was entirely out of the question, because their working conditions, such as those of rickshamen, apprentices and shop-assistants would not allow them time to return home to take their meals. In fact, the comparatively higher income of certain persons sometimes necessitates them to spend more on ready-made food purchased from vendors.

A solution of this problem lies perhaps in opening food shops in the city where wholesome food may be procured at cost price.

DIETS OF A FEW PEOPLES COMPARED

262 A comparison between the diets of the peoples of different countries is generally an uncertain undertaking, as they usually have different food habits. Nevertheless, we venture to give here a few figures for food expenses from the Japanese and Indian studies with a view to showing the status of the food consumption of the Peking labourers. It seems that there are resemblances of an important character among the diets of the three peoples, the Chinese, the Japanese and the Indians. Firstly, all of them are essentially "vegetarian" in the sense that they eat meat very sparingly. Secondly, they all use rice or wheat or some other cereal as their principal food, the other articles, such as meat, fish, vegetables and condiments being consumed merely for the purpose of stimulating appetite. Of course, differences may also be found among the three diets. For instance, in contrast with the diet of our Peking families, the Japanese consume more fish and sea-food; though, in this respect, the Chinese along the sea-coast are like them. With many Indians, milk and occasionally butter form their favourite foods, whereas Chinese of the labouring class hardly touch them. These considerations, however, need not detain us here, since they do not affect the basic resemblance of the three diets which we have pointed out. As a matter of fact, a comparison of the diets should be preferably made in